

REPORT ON TRIP TO MIDDLE EAST

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INTRODUCTION:

In 1988 I saw a documentary on PBS called "Days of Rage." This was the story of the plight of the Palestinian people and their response to it from their point of view. Growing up as a Jewish boy, I had been ingrained with many stories about the Holocaust and family members who did not survive it. I never understood how human beings could be so cruel to other human beings, and I especially didn't understand why the rest of the world permitted this to happen. Where were all the decent people who should have stood up for humanity? I knew then that when I grew up, if I saw these kinds of injustices, I would not repeat history

and sit silently.

Coming home from two years in Vietnam, I was shattered to learn that the public did not support the sacrifices that we had made or the tactics that we had used. It bothered me more to see that the U.S. government, through the media, was lying to the American public about most aspects of Vietnam. After this experience, it became apparent to me that if you really want to know what is happening somewhere you have to see for yourself; you surely won't find out listening to the government or believing the media. After seeing "Days of Rage," I felt compelled to go to the Middle East and see for myself what there was to see.

In 1989, as president of a Veterans for Peace chapter, I had the opportunity to hear a speaker at one of our meetings who was from the Palestinian Human Rights Committee. After the meeting, I expressed my interest in being able to see for myself what was happening in the Middle East. I was informed that there were fact-finding trips going all the time, and that if I really wanted to go, I should sign up to go. I did and I went. This is my report concerning this trip.

Table 1, at the end of this report, gives details about the trip itself.

Tables 2 and 3 list, respectively, people and places visited during the trip.

FACTS:

In this report I'd like to deal mostly with my experiences, feelings, conclusions, and ideas based on this trip. To this end, I will deal mostly with human conditions as they exist now and less with historical background. I will try to briefly explain the historical background and how it is used to justify conditions.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND:

Beginning in the 1930s, there was an attempt in Europe to exterminate the Jewish people. This is known as the Holocaust. Because of the Holocaust, new life was added to the idea of a Jewish state in the land of Palestine. In 1947 and '48, the land of Palestine was partitioned by the United Nations into land for a Jewish state and a Palestinian state. Many of the Palestinians resented the loss of the land they lived on. They also resented the fact that the Jewish population, which represented 32% of the total population of Palestine and owned 9% of the land, ended up with 52% of the land. The Palestinians felt that the 52% of the land that was carved out for Israel contained the best land, and that they were left with the worst land.

On May 14, 1948, Israel was attacked by Syria, Transjordan, Egypt, Lebanon, and Iraq. After several months, a cease-fire was worked out by the U.N. Security Council. Since that time, Israel has fought three more major wars and carried out an invasion of Lebanon. As a result, the land of Israel has grown to include land known as "the occupied territories," that is, land captured by Israel and still held by Israel, partially as spoils of war and partially for defense purposes.

The result of this history is that Israel is technically in a state of war with most of its neighbors, and it has the job of controlling the

occupied territories and the million and a half Palestinian inhabitants who resent the occupation of their land and the loss of both their political rights and human rights. We cannot change history; we can only hope to learn from it. But we can change the human conditions that presently exist, and that does not have to depend on solving all the other problems of the Middle East. In helping to solve this human problem, it is important to understand it from both the Israeli and Palestinian points of view, and it is especially important to look at it objectively.

Conditions in the Occupied Territories under Israeli Rule

The Israeli strategy in dealing with the occupied territories has been to view the situation totally in terms of national security. It has all but ignored the Palestinian people, their human rights, and their aspirations for self-determination. The occupied territories are governed militarily, as one foreign ministry official put it, "to stop chaos and violence" and "to force the Palestinians to recognize our authority."

We met with representatives of the Israeli foreign ministry. They told us that governing an occupied territory was very hard. They told us they needed the land as a defensive buffer, that they would never allow a Palestinian state to exist on the West Bank nor would they ever allow a person associated with the PLO to run for or hold office. When answering questions about the brutality inflicted upon the Palestinians by Israeli defense forces, their response was "these things are unfortunate and terrible." The Israeli foreign ministry assured us that there were rules of engagement which strictly limited the use of violence. They qualified this by saying "in the heat of conflict, you can't control a soldier's activities when he feels threatened." They told us that the soldiers only fire on people for self-defense and are supposed to shoot for the legs.

The Israeli government officials told us that because they use rubber and plastic bullets more often than regular bullets they are acting humanely. In hospitals, I was able to see the effects of rubber bullets and plastic bullets on human beings. Though these bullets are portrayed as being non-lethal, they can easily kill when fired from close range or at certain parts of the body. The rubber bullet is really a steel bullet with a rubber casing. It weighs over one-half ounce, much larger than any standard American handgun bullet or rifle bullet. The Israeli government's policies in governing the occupied territories have resulted in conditions that are unacceptable to the Palestinians.

Although many of these actions occurred before the Intifada, after the Intifada they became routine under Israel's "Iron Fist Policy." I will briefly describe some of these policies: Confiscation of land: Since 1967, Israel has confiscated one-third of the total land area of the West Bank from the Palestinians. Closing of schools in the occupied territories: This is done for so-called security reasons because schools are a place where people can congregate and conspire.

"Administrative detention:" While this term sounds innocuous, what it really means is that people can be arrested, held for up to six month terms, which are renewable, without ever being charged with a crime, without being given any explanation for why they're in prison, and without even notification of their families. And all without legal

recourse--there are no legal procedures or appeals.

House demolitions (if a resident of the house is a suspect in anti-Israeli activities or if the house is suspected of being used for anti-Israeli activities): In many instances families are given as little as 30 minutes to remove their belongings before their home is blown up or bulldozed. This is a form of collective punishment.

House sealing: This is when certain parts of a house are sealed up to deny use. This is a tactic which the Israeli government claims is more humane than house demolitions.

Curfews: Curfews may last as long as 24 hours a day for as many days as the curfew is in effect, during which time residents are confined to their homes. The curfew may be lifted for an hour a day to allow residents the opportunity to provide for their basic needs. However, no one is allowed to enter or exit the area under curfew. We were told of cases where people have been shot for looking out their window during a curfew. No travel is permitted. Residents may not even leave the inside of their home to sit in the yard; they cannot go to the store for food nor even to a hospital.

Confiscation of identity cards: Israeli soldiers on patrols and at check points have confiscated identity cards, leaving residents subject to immediate arrest.

Palestinian charitable societies have been closed.

Any gathering of five or more persons can constitute an illegal assembly.

Deportation: This is forcible exile to a foreign country, which is a violation of the Geneva Treaty.

Virtually any manifestation of Palestinian national identity is deemed illegal. This ban includes flying, wearing, carrying, manufacturing, or even possessing the Palestinian flag; singing national songs and in certain cases, the production of paintings, theatre, poetry, or other art forms. Private homes and institutions are entered without a warrant. All Palestinian press is routinely subject to Israeli censorship. No Palestinian political parties or political organizations are permitted. For those Palestinians living in refugee camps--15% of the population in the West Bank, 70% of that in the Gaza Strip--basic living conditions are severe. Adequate housing, water, food, and health care are totally unacceptable. The spread of infectious diseases, especially polio, is rampant, due to open sewage trenches. Israeli soldiers have been known to force Palestinians into sewage ponds for punishment.

These policies and practices are documented and explicitly detailed in the works of organizations like Al-haq (Law in the Service of Man), the Palestinian Human Rights Information Center, the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights, the U.S. State Department report on the occupied territories, the United Nations, Amnesty International, and other international, Palestinian and Israeli human rights organizations.

Palestinian Resistance

The Palestinian resistance to the occupation is easy to understand if you place yourself in their position. Would you find it acceptable for you and your family to live under these conditions? I have yet to meet the first person--Israeli, Palestinian, or American--who would find these conditions acceptable. The Palestinian response to these conditions has taken various forms, including demonstrations, documentation of abuses, self-education, armed action, bombings, plane hijackings, and other activities considered by many to be terrorist activities, such as the murder of athletes at the 1972 Olympics.

When we interviewed members of the PLO executive committee, they said "When we hijacked planes and blew up planes, it wasn't because we needed planes or didn't like planes. It was because we felt that we needed to do something very strong to get the world's attention so they would see our plight and help us solve our problems. Nothing else that we did seemed to get people's attention."

This tactic had the desired result of focusing world attention on the problems of the Palestinian people. But at the same time it had the undesired result of turning world opinion against the Palestinian people. It caused the occupation to become more repressive, and even worse, it made the name "Palestinian" synonymous with "terrorist" throughout much of the world. This made the less-than-human treatment of the Palestinians more acceptable.

Throughout the years, the Palestinians have reviewed the impact of their resistance, and through this process, have recognized the need for a new strategy.

The younger Palestinians, recognizing this need, helped give birth to the Intifada. They also inspired their elders to strengthen and renew their determination to free themselves from Israeli rule.

In December of 1987, the Palestinian people adopted a new strategy of resistance to the Israeli occupation in their quest for self-determination. This strategy is called the Intifada. The literal translation means "to shake off," as one might shake an insect off one's back.

Palestinian women, who in traditional society were subservient to men, now have taken the lead in the peace movement and in organizing the infrastructure that is necessary to be self-sufficient. They have organized working co-ops, schools, medical care, and many other services in people's homes. This women's empowerment and building of the infrastructure can be viewed as some of the positive results.

Before the Intifada, Palestinian hospitals were always short of blood. Since the Intifada, one of the benefits is that everyone gives blood now.

Palestinians outside of the occupied territories, including the PLO leadership, responded to this need for change by launching a series of new diplomatic and political initiatives. These initiatives included recognizing Israel's right to exist and the renunciation of violence and terrorism.

The Intifada also addresses the refusal to recognize the authority of the Israeli government and the legality of their occupation. This meant there would be increased tax resistance. I frequently heard "no taxation without representation." This resistance is accomplished in some cases by total refusal to pay taxes, as in the town of Bet Sahora. As part of this resistance, all Palestinian businesses close at 12 noon. This is called a "partial strike." Some days there are full strikes, where all shops are closed, and Palestinians don't go to work.

The resistance to the authority of the Israeli government is also accomplished by refusing to acknowledge the authority of the Israeli occupying forces. This is easily accomplished by not obeying orders given by the soldiers, such as "stop," and "show me your identification." It is also accomplished by symbolically resisting the power of the Israeli military and the vast superiority of its weapons: children throw stones at armed soldiers knowing that they will be shot and cannot possibly win. They make the sacrifice of their bodies to change world opinion, to show that they are humans, and because they have nothing else to lose.

What-We-Were-Told Versus What-We-Saw-for-Ourselves

The Israeli government told us that there are places in the world such as Algeria and China where resistance to authority is put down much more brutally, and therefore, in perspective, the Israeli treatment of the Palestinians is much more humane. They also justified their treatment of the Palestinians by saying that Palestinians are treated much worse in Arab countries. These arguments are ridiculous. Acceptable human Conduct should be measured against the best, not the worst.

The Israeli government told us that they would never allow a Palestinian state in the West Bank. They claimed that if they allowed this that it would make Israel much more vulnerable to an attack that Israel could not survive, and that would mean the destruction of Israel and the loss of a homeland for the Jewish people.

The hypocrisy of this is that Israel's solution calls for doing to the Palestinians exactly what Israel doesn't want done to it. Israel's fear is based on a possibility, but it is a certainty that the Palestini and will lose their homeland.

Some of the other reasons the Israeli foreign ministry told us the U.S. should continue to support Israel are that Israel is capitalist and Israel is our most reliable ally. They also told us that to describe the conflict as Israelis versus Palestinians is misleading: "The real truth of the matter is this is a conflict between Moslem fundamentalism and Judeo-Christian values."

Upon interviewing victims, physicians, witnesses, and viewing medical evidence such as x-rays, it is very obvious that the majority of casualties are caused for punitive reasons. Multiple gunshot wounds in the back cannot be considered defensive.

Over 25% of the Palestinians who are injured are under the age of 16. We heard numerous reports of beatings of people after they had already

been shot, and of the stalling of medical aid to wounded victims.

I saw many people with multiple wounds from gunshots with rubber, plastic and conventional bullets. The high velocity of either the "223"bullet (standard M16 bullet) or the plastic bullet frequently causes the bullet to shatter on impact. From x-rays, you can see many pieces in a person's body from bullets that have shattered.

Because of linguistic differences, the Palestinians call these bullets "dum-dum" bullets, which are bullets that explode on impact. To the victim, whether the bullet that has struck has "exploded" into little pieces inside of him or "shattered" into little pieces inside, the difference is not that apparent.

In almost every encounter we had with Israeli soldiers, the Palestinians were referred to as "Arab liars," "dogs," or "filthy animals." This is pure racism and it is inherent in the process of dehumanization.

I made a point of asking every Palestinian I met--Moslems and Christians, shopkeepers and refugees--"Who do you consider to be the representative of the Palestinian people?" Without exception, they all answered, "The PLO."

In discussing the situation in the occupied territories with right-wing Israeli citizens, these are some of the arguments they used:

- 1) A real Jew would automatically side with Israel.
- 2) The security of Israel as a state and a people is the number one priority.
- 3) "Go back to America and mind your own business."

My response to these arguments is:

1) When I hear the argument that a real Jew would not criticize Israel, it reminds me of when I came home from Vietnam and was told that real Americans don't criticize the U.S.

2) When the Israeli government speaks of its security needs for the occupied territories, it totally refuses to recognize the human element that goes with these territories, that is, the Palestinian people. The fact that people live on this land and have lived on it for generations, that they have certain inalienable rights as human beings, and that these people have nowhere else to go, is not even considered by the Israeli government. This is the prime example of the extent to which the Israeli government totally disregards the existence of the Palestinian people and their human rights.

3) Because American tax money is being used to support the Israeli government, this makes it the business of all Americans.

PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS CONCERNING ISRAELI USE OF FORCE

As a former marine sergeant, with two years combat experience in Vietnam, I see many similarities in the behavior of the American soldiers in Vietnam and the Israeli soldiers in the occupied territories. As an NCO in charge of riot control, I have an understanding of the do's and don'ts of riot control. In this section, I'd like to discuss these observations.

Riot Control

In riot control training, there are four basic rules:

- 1) You're not the judge or jury. Your job is to protect lives and property.
- 2) Use the minimum force necessary to achieve these goals. Use of excessive force will embitter those you are trying to control and escalate the tensions.
- 3) Use only "reasonable force." This means that you can only use deadly force (force that is likely to cause death or great bodily harm) if you reasonably believe that the force is necessary to prevent imminent death or great bodily harm. In cases where imminent death or great bodily harm is not present, you may not use a disproportionate amount of force against the opposition. You may not administer punitive measures and call it self-defense.
- 4) Always leave those you are trying to control an avenue of escape. If you do not leave an avenue of escape, they will have no choice but to fight and this escalates the violence.

I have found that the Israeli military violates all these basic rules. The soldiers provoke confrontation, they use excessive force, and they shoot people in the back, rather than allowing them an avenue of escape. In reality, the result of these tactics has been to escalate the bitterness, the violence, and the casualties.

By closing the schools, all the children are left to hang out in the street where they can throw rocks at the Israeli soldiers when they come by. And while I agree that a proper size stone thrown by a proper size person from a close distance, with accuracy, is capable of causing great bodily harm and death if thrown in numbers, rock-throwing does not justify the use of lethal force in most instances.

One of the tactics used by the Palestinians to change world opinion is to provoke the Israeli soldiers into over-reacting. The Israeli soldiers know this but continue to be easily drawn into this trap.

Understanding the Soldier

Being a military veteran, I am well aware that the soldier is unfairly blamed for policies and the results of policies that he has no control over. So it is important to me to add this section in order to be fair to the soldier and separate him from military policy.

Soldiers are mostly young men who are immature and very impressionable. They are conditioned to participate in and tolerate certain behaviors that outside of the military would be considered criminal. In many cases, the soldier is used as an extension of diplomacy, not to defend one's nation, but to use force to solve diplomatic problems. The soldier is asked to risk his life and limb without question. The soldier is expected to obey certain rules of behavior in an environment where rules don't count.

As a former soldier, one of the things that helped me to see what a pawn I was is the fact that while I was asked to make the ultimate sacrifice for my country, the businesses that profited from the conflict did not have to sacrifice their profits for the country. It seems to me if there were a rule that made it illegal to make a financial profit while soldiers were losing their lives, we would probably find a lot more support for peaceful resolutions to conflicts.

The notion that war should be a last resort for purposes of self-defense and that it can be carried out in a civilized way with rules is a total denial of reality. When a person's life and safety are on the line, the natural instinct is to survive. Under such highly stressful conditions, a person cannot be expected to be thinking about the rules, only about staying alive and winning.

In my personal experience, I participated in things that are much worse, in terms of death and destruction, than anything I saw in the occupied territories. I know that it is possible, with maturity and honesty, to be able to admit when you've participated in something wrong, to regret it, to be remorseful for it, to no longer participate in it, and to try to make up for it, especially by helping to educate those who are being used in the same way by a narrow-minded, dishonest government. I know that the Israeli soldiers are just like I was in Vietnam, and they are not necessarily malicious, bad people, just misguided. In time, they will find out, as I did, that the oppressor pays a psychological price that in most cases is higher than the physical price.

Sometimes we too quickly think of suffering in terms of death and physical pain. We forget about the psychological suffering. Just because the Israelis don't use concentration camps, don't burn down villages, don't measure success by body counts, doesn't mean that the people aren't suffering.

Seeing the soldiers on patrol in the occupied territories was just like Vietnam. We went on patrols every day and we looked for the Enemy. And everyone we encountered was either a suspect or a confirmed enemy. I never had a significant understanding until I was older of the amount of hostility and brutality that can easily be applied to a human being once they are labeled a suspect.

But what the U.S. did not do in Vietnam that the Israelis do in the occupied territories is to exert total control over every aspect of the Palestinians lives--their identity, where and when they can travel, whether or not they're allowed to grow food in their own gardens, whether they can meet and marry someone from a different village, whether their relatives who have moved away can come back and visit. The basic rules of law--the right to face your accusers, the right to the knowledge of why you're being arrested, the right of your family to know that you've even been arrested--are all controlled by the Israeli military.

One of the things that I found most paradoxical was the fact that even though Israel is one of the strongest military nations in the world, its people live in a constant state of fear. I would even say that the

Israeli psyche is paranoid. Israeli citizens who I became friends with were afraid to visit me at my hotel because it was in East Jerusalem and they felt it was dangerous; unsafe for them and unsafe for me. I felt perfectly safe, and I found it very strange that those who possess the power and the strength live in fear and those who are oppressed do not live in fear. The Palestinians are not happy but they definitely don't live in fear.

The depth of the Israeli paranoia and intolerance can easily be demonstrated by the statement made to us by the Israeli foreign ministry that "one Palestinian with one mule with two rockets tied to its back could get close enough to a major Israeli city to inflict many casualties, and therefore is a threat to the security of Israel." This type of interpretation doesn't even leave room for the existence of one Palestinian in the occupied territories.

Additional Comments and Observations

I tried to ask every person I spoke with, "What could I do as an American to try to help?" The two positive answers I always got were to go back and tell the American people the truth and to cut off Israeli aid. The negative responses I got were "Americans don't care" and "Israel can do whatever it wants." I like to think that if Americans knew the truth they would care.

As to cutting off aid, this is very complicated. Some people talked about cutting all aid; others spoke of cutting only military aid. Israel is the largest recipient of U.S. aid in the world. Israel receives \$3.5 billion annually and since we have to borrow that money, we also have to pay the interest on it. So in real dollars, it's much more than \$3.5 billion. Of that \$3.5 billion, Israel is required to spend \$2 billion in the U.S.. So as soon as you talk about cutting that aid, you're talking about cutting American jobs. One of the problems with cutting aid to Israel is that our economy is tied to war and too many people are employed in the military-industrial complex and require world hostility in order to keep their jobs. The Israeli government knows this.

Being Jewish

There are some ideas, issues, and feelings that I need to address specifically because I am Jewish.

As a peace activist, I find many Jewish people are also activists and are supportive on issues concerning human rights in Central America, South Africa, and other places around the world. Yet many of these people seem unable to apply the same standards of justice to Israel and the Palestinian people that they apply elsewhere.

All too often, when something negative is said about Israel, the automatic response is that what is being said is based on anti-Jewish sentiments. This response is commonly used to change the subject and to put the speaker in a defensive position. I'm often told that "a real Jew would never say anything against Israel." Opposing the Israeli government's policies in the occupied territories is not anti-Israeli or anti-Jewish. It is pro-human rights, and it is supported by many Israelis and Jews worldwide.

CONCLUSIONS

What happened to the Jewish people during the Holocaust was in no way the fault of the Palestinian people. The attacks against Israel by its Arab neighbors also cannot be blamed on the Palestinian people. The decisions made by the Palestinians in 1948 to not accept the partitioning of their homeland by Great Britain and the U.N. is not the fault of the majority of Palestinians, who are under 40 years old.

I personally feel that the historical plight of the Jewish people and Israel's existing problems with its Arab neighbors today cannot be used to justify the inhumane treatment and lack of dignity that the Palestinian people suffer.

There are a lot of problems in the Middle East, but the basic human rights of the Palestinian people should not have to depend on solving all these other problems. I was elated to find so many people in Israel in the military, the peace movement, and the general public who recognize that the treatment of the Palestinians by the government is wrong and unacceptable, and they are starting to stand up and make their voices heard. Also here in the U.S., there are many Jewish citizens who are working for justice and humane treatment of Palestinians.

For Israel, the Intifada has meant a loss in revenues from the Occupied territories, an increase in unfavorable world opinion, and some loss of support from the Jewish community abroad. Israeli citizens have been bitterly divided between those who support the official policy of occupation and those who are against it. Israeli women have come to the forefront of the peace movement. There has been a dramatic increase in the number of suicides committed by Israeli soldiers serving in the occupied territories. Palestinians believe that the reason for the poor treatment is really a systematic attempt to destroy their culture and to get them to leave so that Israel can have the land. At the very least, it is obvious to me that the Palestinian people are being robbed of their land, culture, and identity, and denied basic freedoms, most importantly the right to self-determination.

What the Palestinians have left is their courage, conviction, dignity, spirit, sense of humor and their unstoppable desire for justice and self-determination. The use of harsh measures by Israel to break the spirit and desires of the Palestinians will only escalate casualties, tensions, bitterness, suffering, and fear on both sides.

Since the Palestinians and Israelis are living as neighbors and will have to continue to live as neighbors, the two options they have are to live in trust and peace and respect for the rights of one another, or continue living as the oppressed and the oppressor. And the oppressor can never be free from all the bad things that are related to being the oppressor. And one of those things is the ability to live without fear of your neighbor.

In the words of a Palestinian I met, "Either the good people of the world will help us, or it will stay the way it is. How many more generations must suffer?"

FINAL RECOMMENDATION

It is obvious to me that the American public is getting a highly distorted picture of the situation in the occupied territories. It is my recommendation to the Veterans for Peace national office that we send a series of VFP fact-finding delegations to the Middle East, and that VFP give a high priority to dealing with the issues of peace and justice for the Palestinian people.

Table 1. Facts about the tour:

Who? 11 people went--10 Americans, 1 Brazilian, among them, a lawyer, a writer, two divinity students, two journalism graduate students, a law student. Our trip was organized by Palestinian Human Rights Committee (PHRC).

When? The tour took place from December 30, 1989 through January 14, 1990.

What? The schedule was organized by Mideast Council of Churches and included meetings with members of the Israeli foreign ministry, the Israeli peace movement (Yesh G'vul), leaders of Peace Now (Israeli Peace organization), the Women in Black (Israeli peace group), members of Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) executive committee, Palestinian peace activists, and Palestinian doctors, lawyers, journalists and educators. We also met with numerous Palestinians, Israeli civilians, and Israeli military people on the street, in refugee camps and in villages.

Where? We traveled to the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, East Jerusalem, West Jerusalem, Amman, and Jordan. We visited Palestinian hospitals, Israel's Holocaust Museum, and Israeli settlements.

Table 2. People Interviewed during the trip

Father Ibrahim Ayad, veteran Palestinian Catholic Priest, former member of PLO executive committee

Dr. Achmed Qatanani, Director General of Department of Palestinian Affairs, within the (Jordanian?) Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Dr. Hanna Nasir, President of Bir Zeit University, former member of PLO executive committee

Dr. Mustafa B. Hamarneh, Professor in History at Jordan University, candidate for Parliament in November (1990) election

Dr. Nasri Khoury, neurosurgeon at Palestine Hospital in Amman

Constantine Dabbagh, Middle East Council of Churches, Gaza

Israeli Foreign Ministry:

Dr. Uri Gordon, advisor to foreign minister on Christian affairs, ambassador to Philippines under Marcos, Israeli representative to UN

Allen Baker, deputy legal council, Israeli foreign ministry

American Consulate:

David Wyn, deputy political officer

Dr. Abu Shockey, UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRAW)

Ms. Liana Smith, volunteer, Middle East Council of Churches

Ms. Jan Abu Shakra, Director, PHRIC

Radwan Abu Ayyash, Chairman, Association of Journalists for the West Bank and Gaza

Dr. Edi Kaufman, Director, foreign affairs office, Ratz Party; co-founder, Palestinian-Israeli Human Rights Center

Gideon Spiro, Yesh G'vul

Hashem Abu Sido, public affairs officer UNRAWA

Dr. Heider Abdel-Shafi, Chairman, Red Crescent Society

Ms. Samira Farah, administrative assistant, Ahli Arab Hospital

Michael Warshaski, Director, Alternative Information Center, Jerusalem

Dr. Wahid Dajani, Chief of Anesthesiology & Intensive Care, Makassed Islamic Hospital

Table 3. List of Places Visited

Beach Camp in the Gaza Strip

Jabbaliya (town & camp), Gaza

Daheisha Camp (near Bethlehem in the West Bank)

Kufr Naime (village in the West Bank)

Ramallah al Bireh (West Bank city)

Popular Art & Culture Center (Ramallah)

Union of Palestinian Medical Relief Committees, Jerusalem

Ahli Arab Hospital, Gaza

Makassed Islamic Hospital, Jerusalem

Settlement of Kfar Etzion, West Bank

Women in Black demonstration Tsarfat Square, Jerusalem

Yad VaShem Holocaust Museum, Jerusalem